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I. Introduction

This report has been prepared in accordance with Section 6 of Public Law 94-304, dated June 3, 1976, creating the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It covers the activities of the Commission during the period January 1, 1986 through December 31, 1986.

COMMISSION BACKGROUND

An independent agency created by Congress, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe is charged with monitoring and encouraging compliance with the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). This document was signed on August 1, 1975 in Helsinki, Finland, by the heads of state of the United States, Canada, the Soviet Union and 32 European nations. A 40,000 word document covering nearly every aspect of East-West relations including military security, trade and economic cooperation, human rights and humanitarian affairs and scientific and cultural exchanges, the Final Act, as it is commonly known, calls for periodic review conferences of the 35 participating States to review implementation and to discuss new measures to enhance European cooperation and security.

The Commission's mandate, as outlined in Section 2 of Public Law 94-304, is to "monitor the acts of the signatories which reflect compliance with or violation of the articles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, with particular regard to the provisions relating to Human Rights and Cooperation in Humanitarian Fields." The Commission is further authorized and directed to "monitor and encourage the development of programs and activities of the United States Government and private organizations with a view toward taking advantage of the provisions of the Final Act to expand East-West economic cooperation and a greater interchange of people and ideas between East and West." In carrying out its mandate, the Commission has been extremely active in documenting violations of the Final Act, in promoting public awareness in implementation of its provisions and in formulating and executing United States Government policy on these issues.

The Commission is composed of 21 legislative and executive branch officials, 9 each from the House of Representatives and U.S. Senate, and 1 each from the Departments of State, Defense and Commerce. During the second session of the 99th Congress, the Chairman of the Commission was Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-NY) and the Cochairman was Congressman Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD). Beginning with the 100th Congress, the Chairmanship of the Commission will once again rotate; the Speaker of the House will

appoint the Chairman and the President of the Senate, on the rec ommendation of the majority leader, will appoint the Cochairman.

A list of CSCE Commissioners during 1986 is attached as *Appendix I* and legislation relating to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe is contained in *Appendix II.*

STAFFING

The Commission is authorized 15 permanent staff positions. During 1986, the staff consisted of the Staff Director, appointed by the Chairman; the General Counsel, appointed by the Cochairman; a press officer; nine staff assistants; and three administrative support personnel consisting of the Administrative Assistant, Office Manager and Secretary/Receptionist. The hiring, firing and fixing of pay of new or additional staff of the Commission must be approved by the Commission's Personnel and Administration Committee. The Personnel and Administration Committee consists of the Chairman, Cochairman and the ranking minority Members from each House of Congress. A number of vacancies from previous years were filled during 1986 leaving only the position of Secretary/Receptionist vacant at the end of the year.

Brief biographies of each staff member and a description of their Commission responsibilities can be found in Appendix III.

FUNDING

Under Public Law 94-304, amended by Public Law 99-7, there are authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year "such sums as may be necessary to enable it [the Commission] to carry out its duties and functions." Appropriations to the Commission are authorized to remain available until expended. Previous authorization limited the Commission's appropriation for each fiscal year to $550,000. In addition, under Title IV, Miscellaneous Provisions, of Public Law 96-60, there is authorized and appropriated each fiscal year $6,000 which may be used for official reception and representation expenses.

II. CSCE Meetings Mandated by the Madrid Review Conference

The last two of six specialized CSCE meetings mandated by the Madrid Review Conference concluded their activities in 1986 on completely opposite notes. The first stage of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE), which opened in January 1984 some 4 months after the end of the Madrid Meeting, concluded on September 19, 1986. Representatives of the 35 participating States reached consensus on a package of concrete military confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) building upon the Helsinki Final Act.

The 6-week Experts Meeting on Human Contacts, held in Bern, Switzerland, during the period April 15 to May 26, 1986, came agonizingly close to an agreement on some modest measures designed to enhance the Helsinki provisions on family reunification but, at the last minute, the United States withheld consensus on a draft

concluding document on the grounds that, on balance, it did not constitute a step forward.

As with other CSCE meetings, the Commission played an active role in both of these meetings. Cochairman Hoyer led a congressional delegation to both meetings in May 1986. Congressional Members of the delegation were CSCE Commissioner John Porter (R-IL) and Representatives Gary Ackerman (D-NY) and Albert Bustamante (D-TX).

At the Stockholm Conference, the Cochairman delivered a statement in plenary underscoring the importance of implementing all provisions of the Final Act, including human rights, in the process of developing mutual trust among CSCE participants. He further stressed the significance of an adequate regime for verification of any agreement reached in Stockholm. He and members of his delegation met with ambassadors from a large number of Conference delegations including a private session with Soviet Representative Oleg Grinevsky during which the Cochairman again raised the linkage between human rights and military security issues. The congressional group also held discussions with Swedish Foreign Office officials, CDE secretariat officials and officers of the U.S. Embassy including Ambassador Newell. Mr. Hoyer also visited the grave of Olof Palme where he laid a wreath on behalf of the Commission.

At the Bern Meeting, Cochairman Hoyer attended the final negotiating sessions, conferred closely with the leadership of the United States and other delegations and had private consultations with senior Swiss officials including State Secretary Brunner. The delegation was also briefed by U.S. Embassy officials. On the return to the United States, the CODEL stopped in Geneva to be briefed on the status of the strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union.

In addition to a support role during the CODEL visits, the Commission staff participated extensively in the preparations and proceedings of the Stockholm and Bern meetings. In Stockholm, the Commission was represented during a large part of the Conference by one and sometimes two staff professionals, including at times the Staff Director or Deputy Staff Director. The staff representatives assisted with the work of the U.S. delegation as requested and acted to ensure that the delegation was kept informed on human rights developments which impacted on the conference. In addition, they provided CSCE expertise gained from other meetings and maintained a channel of communication between the U.S. delegation leadership and the Commission Chairman and Cochairman.

The Commission staff played a larger role at the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting participating directly in the substance of the work of the U.S. delegation. This included contributions to delegation speeches and statements, elaboration and examination of a multitude of new proposals put forward for possible inclusion in a final document and negotiation with other delegations to advance U.S. aims at the meeting. Commission staff served as the principal contact for a wide array of U.S. nongovernmental representatives who came to Bern during the meeting. The Commission assisted these NGOs in arranging meetings with other delegations, including, in a few instances, the Soviet Union and other East European delegations and in facilitating their activities.

Before, during and at the end of the Bern and Stockholm meetings, the Commission held hearings in Washington. These hearings featured the appearance of the heads of the U.S. delegations and prominent officials from the State Department and the NGO community. In this way and through its reports and direct participation in the CSCE meetings, the Commission remained a central focus in the Helsinki process and continues to serve as the principal agency for the expression of the human rights concerns of the Congress and the American public in the East-West context.

THE CONFERENCE ON CONFIDENCE- AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE (CDE)

The Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE) convened in January 1984 in Stockholm, Sweden, pursuant to the provisions of the Madrid Concluding Document. The aim of the CDE, an integral part of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), is to undertake, in stages, new, effective and concrete actions designed to make progress in strengthening confidence and security and in achieving disarmament.

The first stage of the Conference, which concluded on September 19, 1986, was devoted to the negotiation and adoption of a set of mutually complementary confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs). The purpose of such measures is to reduce the risk of attack or the outbreak of war by miscalculation. According to the CDE mandate, CSBMs were to be of military significance and politically binding, with adequate forms of verification. The zone of application for CSBMs was expanded to cover the territory from the Atlantic to the Urals. Thus the Stockholm Conference was to build upon the confidence-building measures (CBMs) contained in Basket I of the Helsinki Final Act.

Significant differences between the East and West over the direction the Stockholm Conference was to pursue hindered progress during the early days of the meeting. While the East presented broad declaratory proposals, the West sought concrete CSBMs as called for by the CDE mandate. Work on specific proposals was facilitated by the creation of subsidiary working bodies dealing with Non-use of Force; Information, Verification and Communication; Notification; and Observation.

The pace of negotiations at the CDE accelerated during the summer months as the Conference moved toward its September 19, 1986 deadline. While provisional agreement had been reached on broad issues by August, many critical details remained unresolved until the closing hours of the Conference.

The Stockholm Conference concluded September 19 when the participants reached consensus on a package of concrete CSBMs dealing with notification, observation, and verification of military maneuvers. A key element of the Stockholm Document, the first East-West arms agreement in nearly a decade, is a verification regime including on-site inspection. The document also includes specific language noting the relationship between human rights and security.

As stated above, the Commission closely followed these deliberations, both in Washington and through periodic participation on the U.S. delegation in Stockholm. Throughout the course of the negotiations, the Commission emphasized the inextricable link between respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and security in the CSCE process in general, and respect for Europe in particular.

THE BERN HUMAN CONTACTS EXPERTS MEETING

The Bern Meeting held special significance for the Commission since it was the Commission staff which initially proposed the idea for what later was to evolve into a Human Contacts Experts Meeting (HCEM). With great reluctance, and in order to facilitate agreement on their prime objective at the CDE Review Conference, the Soviets agreed to the HCEM near the end of Madrid. The meeting convened April 15, 1986 in Bern, Switzerland, in accordance with the mandate "to discuss the development of contacts among persons, institutions and organizations," the results of which were to "be taken into account, as appropriate, at the Vienna Follow-up Meeting."

A primary goal of the United States at Bern was to achieve better compliance on existing commitments. For the first time in CSCE, several Western countries witnessed some significant results within the context of an on-going CSCE meeting. The Romanian delegation announced the resolution of about one-half of the cases presented to it by the United States. The Bulgarians resolved 12 of 18 U.S. representation list cases the week before the Bern Meeting opened. On the last scheduled day of the meeting, the Soviet authorities in Moscow gave U.S. officials the names of 36 families whose cases were to be resolved. Within 10 days, the names of an additional 29 families to be given permission to emigrate were announced. In all, the resolution of the Soviet cases would affect about 200 persons.

A second primary goal was to examine how the human contacts provisions of Helsinki and Madrid had been implemented thus far. The freer flow of people across East-West borders was forthrightly raised as the overriding humanitarian theme of the Bern Meeting. The West forcefully raised problems regarding family visits, family reunification, binational marriages, travel for personal and professional purposes, trade union contacts, postal and telephone communications and contacts between members of a religious faith or a national minority. In light of the Chernobyl nuclear accident in the Soviet Union, which occurred during the course of the meeting, the U.S. delegation called upon the Soviet Union to improve channels of communication between Soviet citizens and their relatives in the West. The discussions, which often went into considerable detail on these issues, were candid but did not evoke the confrontational responses from the East as was the case at Ottawa and Budapest.

As the meeting drew to a close, the neutral and nonaligned nations submitted a draft compromise document, BME.49, which incorporated elements from both Eastern and Western proposals. While, as finally refined, all other 34 signatory States indicated they could accept BME.49, the U.S. delegation at the last minute

surprised the meeting by withholding consensus, arguing that the text was so filled with loopholes and qualifications that any positive elements it contained would be outweighed by its shortcomings. Many delegations expressed strong disagreement and disappointment with the U.S. decision, but they agreed that the discussion at Bern in itself had made a useful contribution to the promotion of contacts between the peoples of East and West.

III. Vienna Follow-up Meeting

A unique feature of the Helsinki Final Act is its section on follow-up. The 35 signatory nations agreed in the Final Act to meet periodically to review past implementation and to consider new measures to enhance European cooperation and security. The third such follow-up meeting opened at the Foreign Minister level in Vienna, Austria, on November 4. Phase I of the Vienna Meeting ended on December 19. Phase II will convene on January 27, 1987. Drafting of a concluding document will begin February 19 and will continue until at least July 31, which is the target date for the end of the meeting. However, given past experience (3 years at the second review conference at Madrid) and the number and complexity of issues involved at Vienna, most observers and participants believe that the meeting will be extended beyond July 31, 1987.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMISSION

A primary focus of Commission activity during 1986 was the planning and preparatory work for the Vienna Review Meeting. The Commission continues to make a unique contribution to in policy formulation and coordination on CSCE matters. The Commission has held numerous public hearings and private meetings with officials of the executive branch to review CSCE policy issues. As part of the U.S. Government's pre-Vienna preparations, the Commissioners and staff participated in consultations with representatives from other Helsinki states, in particular with the Western allies at NATO headquarters in Brussels and in various European capitals. Moreover, the Commission helped to staff the U.S. delegation to the Vienna Preparatory Conference in September 1986.

The Commission worked closely with the State Department in writing detailed briefing books, files and reports prepared for use by the U.S. delegation in Vienna. Several ideas for new proposals to be considered in NATO and later submitted at the meeting came from the Commission. The Commission's lengthy report on implementation of the Helsinki Final Act served as an important reference throughout the meeting.

Because of the importance of the meeting to the CSCE process and the extent of Commission's expertise, both Commissioners and staff have been integrated into the U.S. delegation under the leadership of U.S. Ambassador Warren Zimmermann, along with officials and staff members from the Departments of State, and Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the U.S. Information Agency. Helsinki Commission chairman Alfonse D'Amato and Co-chairman Steny Hoyer serve as Vice-Chairmen of the U.S. Delega-

tion. One of the two deputy heads of the delegation is Ambassador Samuel Wise, Deputy Director of the Commission. Commission staff members serve on the U.S. Interagency Working Group which develops and coordinates the U.S. approach to the meeting. At the Vienna Conference itself, Commission staff members are represented on all working bodies and participate in substantive capacities.

In Vienna, Commissioners and staff played an active and visible role in the proceedings. In order to underscore congressional interest in the meeting and support for the U.S. negotiating effort, Commissioners led congressional delegations to the first phase of the Vienna Meeting, and both Chairman and Cochairman delivered speeches in Plenary. The Hoyer group travelled to Vienna on November 8-12 and included Commissioners Claiborne Pell and Dennis DeConcini from the Senate and John Porter from the House of Representatives. Also participating were Senators Paul Sarbanes and Charles Grassley and Rep. Thomas Luken. Rep. Dante B. Fascell, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and former Commission Chairman, led another congressional group to Vienna during the period November 18-22 following the North Atlantic Assembly Meeting in Istanbul, Turkey. This delegation included Representatives Jack Brooks, Charles Rose, Frank Annunzio, Robert Garcia, Sherwood Boehlert, Frank Horton, Gerald B.H. Solomon, Bart Gordon, Cardiss Collins, Thomas E. Petri, Bill Richardson, Patricia Schroeder, Howard L. Berman, Lawrence J. Smith, Lee Hamilton, Benjamin Gilman, Tom Lantos and Doug Bereuter. CSCE Commission Chairman D'Amato travelled to Vienna for the closing week of the first session (December 14-18).

During Phase I, about half the Commission staff was fully engaged in the negotiations in Vienna. Commission staff represented the United States on various committees; served as special advisors on specialized subjects such as human rights and trade; functioned as press, congresssional relations and public relations officers for the delegation; handled delegation correspondence; researched and drafted speeches; prepared and delivered statements; provided translation services; helped develop Western tactics with our NATO allies; and assisted in the drafting of reporting cables.

At the Commission's urging, prior to the opening of the Vienna Meeting, President Reagan appointed 15 men and women to serve as Public Members of the U.S. delegation. The Public Members represented a variety of civic, human rights and ethnic constituencies and organizations from across the country. The presence on the U.S. delegation of so many influential citizens from so wide a cross-section of American society helped to demonstrate to the other signatory countries the importance the U.S. Government attaches to CSCE. Commission staff acted as principal liaisons on the delegation for the Public Members. Also, Commission officers had primary responsibility for the hundreds of U.S.-based or U.S.-affiliated nongovernmental representatives who travelled to Vienna in connection with the meeting.

Backup support from those Commission staffers who remained in Washington during the Vienna session was vital to the delegation. Stateside staff members provided the delegation with research on particular issues—responding to inquiries and requests from the

delegation on a regular basis—and supplied updated information necessary for speeches and statements. Commission staff in Washington briefed Commissioners, other Members of Congress and their staff, and representatives of the press and private organizations on the developments in Vienna.

During the course of the Vienna Meeting, the Commission will issue a series of information updates and reports and will hold hearings, consultations and discussions on related issues about the status of the negotiations. The first of these will be an "Interim Report" on Phase I, which will be published in January 1987.

PREPARATORY MEETING

The 2-week preparatory meeting, September 23–October 6, produced an agenda and working program which went a considerable way toward meeting Western objectives. The agenda provided for an increase in the time allocated for implementation review (7 weeks versus 5 weeks at Madrid) and allowed for meetings open to the public and press at the beginning and end of each session in addition to the opening and closing weeks as had heretofore been the case. Each of these changes represented a small but significant gain in areas of particular sensitivity to the Soviet Union and its allies. In return, the West agreed to a separate provision calling for an assessment of the results of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE). This assessment was already mandated in the Madrid Concluding Document so its inclusion in the Vienna agenda was mainly cosmetic.

In addition, the Vienna agenda, which by prior agreement was primarily a mutatis mutandis rewrite of the Madrid agenda, provided that the meeting will be opened at the "political level." In practice this has come to mean at the Foreign Ministers level—a major upgrading over the Madrid and Belgrade meetings which were opened by speeches by the heads of delegation. The agenda also called for 4 weeks of examination of new proposals, although the proposals themselves may be introduced during the first 6 weeks of the meeting. Drafting of a concluding document would begin February 18 and continue at least until July 31, 1987—the target date for the meeting to end.

DEVELOPMENTS DURING PHASE I

At the initial session of the third CSCE Follow-up Meeting held in Vienna from November 4 to December 19, 1986, the Soviet Union and a number of its Warsaw Pact allies came under the most concentrated and concerted attack for human rights abuses since the beginning of the Helsinki process in 1975. In some ways the barrage of criticism directed at the East during the implementation phase of the Vienna Conference was more remarkable for the fact that the Soviet Union for the first time offered a series of gestures, promises and public relations maneuvers specifically designed to soften or mute negative Western assessments of its performance. Partly out of underlying distrust for Soviet motives and partly because of Soviet bumbling or callousness in the death of imprisoned Helsinki Monitor Anatoly Marchenko and the agoniz-

ingly delayed departure of cancer patient Rimma Bravve, Western as well as neutral and nonaligned (NNa) participants joined together to mount an unprecedented indictment of Soviet and East European violations of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. As a result, the calculated Soviet effort under General Secretary Gorbachev to project a new, more open and humane image to the world remained at best open to doubt and at worst suffered a serious loss in credibility.

From the opening week of the Vienna Conference to the final session held in public on December 20, the Western delegations of NATO—led by the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada—conducted a thorough, specific and uninhibited review of the compliance record of the Soviet Union and other Eastern states from the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975 to the present. Western nations and neutral states alike pointed out time and again that the record over this period had not only not improved in major respects but in many areas had worsened. Some of the neutral and nonaligned participants were so outraged by events such as the death of Soviet imprisoned dissident Marchenko during the meeting that, for the first time, they singled out the Soviet Union and its individual victims by name. In fact, in addition to a massive cataloguing of systemic human rights abuses by the Soviet Union and its Eastern allies, more names of individual sufferers were mentioned than ever before. The basic theme underlined by virtually all Western and NNa states throughout the first session was that there must be significant improvement in the human rights practices of the Eastern countries, above all the Soviet Union, for the Vienna Meeting to be considered a success and for the possibility of making progress in the CSCE process.

The Soviets, and to some extent their allies, responded to this overwhelming assault on their human rights record in a combination of ways. First of all, they largely abandoned the traditional Eastern tactic of declaring Western human rights criticism interference in their internal affairs in violation of Principle VI of the Final Act. Instead they resorted to a more activist strategy involving a mix of two main elements—much talk and some gestures suggesting a shift in their human rights policies and, simultaneously, a vicious counterattack against alleged instances of massive human rights violations in the West, particularly in the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada but ultimately including any delegation sharply critical of Eastern practices. At the same time, consistent with the newly-proclaimed policy of openness, the Soviet delegation in particular displayed an unprecedented willingness to meet with Western government officials including congressional visitors, leaders of nongovernmental organizations and even private individuals to discuss a variety of human rights concerns, especially questions involving divided families or separated spouses. Occasionally, but not often, they purported to respond directly to Western criticisms, but rarely did their response suggest a disposition to change their ways.

Nevertheless, most Western delegations were prepared to give the Soviets and their friends some credit for the limited gestures offered, mainly in the hope of encouraging further such behavior. Ironically, Soviet mishandling of some of their more dramatic ges-

tures may have caused greater suspicion and frustration among Western delegations than if there had been no gestures at all. Whatever hope ultimately there may be at the Vienna Conference for significant improvement in Soviet and Eastern human rights behavior, the first session of the meeting did not produce encouraging results.

Following a final week of implementation review when the meeting resumes on January 27, the next session will be devoted to consideration of new proposals and to the beginning of drafting of a possible substantive concluding document. At a minimum such a document, by prior agreement, must set the time and place for the next review meeting. Whether, like the Madrid Meeting, a Vienna concluding document will contain new commitments for the implementation of the Final Act and a new schedule of specialized experts meeting will depend on a number of factors.

A fundamental demand for the Western countries of the NATO alliance is that there must be significant improvement in Eastern human rights compliance before the end of the Vienna Meeting. Some 11 years after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, there is widespread agreement even among many of the neutral and nonaligned states that more words and meetings alone are not sufficient to maintain public credibility in the process. The United States holds that CSCE cannot survive as an unbalanced process in which there is progress in the area of military security, as at the CDE Conference in Stockholm, and no comparable progress in the area of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In the next phase of the Vienna Meeting, the participating States will examine a number of major new proposals and begin to consider what is negotiable. The Soviet Union and its allies have already tabled a small number of proposals covering the major areas of the Final Act and are well positioned to begin the next phase. Two of the more significant Eastern proposals are the Polish proposal for a Stockholm follow-up conference on confidence- and security-building measures and conventional disarmament and a surprising Soviet proposal for a meeting on human rights and human contacts in Moscow. The Western and NNa states will be coming in with proposals of their own soon after the meeting resumes. At the December NATO meeting in Brussels, the Western Foreign Ministers emphasized the importance of human rights implementation and balance in the CSCE. They also expressed a willingness to engage both in a continuation of the Stockholm negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures and in discussion of a mandate for a conventional arms negotiation—although it was left unspecified whether such discussions should take place within or outside the CSCE.

The future of the Vienna Conference and the Helsinki process itself could very well hinge on how future CSCE military security negotiations are handled within the process. Of critical importance is how they are balanced in terms of human rights concerns and most importantly, whether they are preceded by a significant and continuing improvement in the human rights performance of the Soviet Union and its allies before the end of the meeting. History has shown that the prospect of a limited role for military security questions in the CSCE provides a powerful incentive for progress in

Eastern human rights performance. The danger for Vienna is that the military security component should not be allowed to assume such a large role that it overwhelms all the other elements, including human rights.

IV. Public Hearings

1952 MC CARRAN-WALTER ACT

On February 6, 1986, the Commission held a public hearing on the United States' policy regarding denial of visas on grounds of political belief and ideology or for foreign policy reasons. The hearing focused on section 212 of the McCarran-Walter (Immigration and Nationality) Act of 1952 which deny visas and exclude aliens on grounds of political affiliation and ideological belief. Specifically, the advisability of repealing section 212(a)(28) and revising section 212(a)(27/29) in accordance with the United States' commitment under the Final Act "to facilitate freer movement and contacts, individually and collectively, whether privately or officially, among persons, institutions and organizations of the participating States" was examined.

Appearing before the Commission were the Honorable Michael Newlin, Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs, accompanied by James Hergen, Assistant Legal Advisor for Consular Affairs, and Cornelius Scully III, Office of Legislation, Regulations and Advisory Assistance, Office of Visa Services; Ms. Susan Shreve, President, President, PEN Faulkner Foundations; and Ms. Juliana Pilon, Senior Policy Analyst, Heritage Foundation. Also appearing as witnesses were two Members of Congress, Senator Paul Simon (D-IL), who serves on the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Policy, and Congressman Barney Frank (D-MA), who serves on the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law.

Written statements were submitted by Senator Charles McC. Mathias (R-MD); the American Civil Liberties Union; the American Immigration Lawyers Association; Helsinki Watch and the Fund for Free Expression; and the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

HEARINGS ON THE FUTURE OF THE CSCE PROCESS

A 2-part hearing on the CSCE process and the promotion of human rights took place on February 25 and 27, 1986. part I focused on Eastern and Central Europe and part II covered the Soviet Union. The hearings focused on how CSCE fits into the overall East-West diplomacy as well as how the Helsinki process can best serve the cause of human rights.

Representatives from the Joint Baltic American National Committee, the Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America and the Committee in Support of Solidarity presented their organizations views with respect to the future of the CSCE process and human rights as it relates to Eastern and Central Europe on February 25, 1986. Testimony from the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Congress of Russian Americans, Union of Councils for Soviet Jews and National Conference on Soviet Jewry

was heard on February 27, 1986, on the future of the process with a specific focus on the Soviet Union.

BERN HUMAN CONTACTS EXPERTS MEETING

Two hearings were held on the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting which took place during the period April 15 through May 26, 1986. The Bern Meeting was the final CSCE subsidiary meeting mandated by the Madrid Concluding Document before the next CSCE review conference in Vienna. Its purpose was to discuss the development of international contacts among persons, institutions and organizations. Topics such as East-West family reunification and binational marriage problems as well as the ability to travel for personal and/or professional reasons was covered.

At the first hearing, March 18, 1986, the Commission heard from Michael Novak, head of the U.S. delegation, on preparations for the upcoming meeting as well as other issues of concern to the Commission with regard to the human contacts question.

The second hearing was held on June 18, 1986, at the conclusion of the Bern Meeting. Ambassador Michael Novak again appeared at this hearing along with the Honorable Rozanne Ridgway, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs. From the private sector, the Commission heard from Dr. William Korey, who served as the only public member to the U.S. delegation in Bern; Mr. Mark Epstein, representing the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews; and Mr. Leonard Sussman, Executive Director of Freedom House in New York.

The record of these two hearings includes a compilation of all the speeches delivered by the U.S. delegation and a written analysis of the Bern compromise document prepared by Ambassador Novak.

THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE AND THE FUTURE OF THE CSCE PROCESS

A hearing was held on March 25, 1986, focusing on the current status and outlook for the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE) with a view toward the upcoming Vienna Review Meeting. Ambassador Robert Barry, head of the U.S. delegation to the Stockholm talks, and Mr. Michael Armacost, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, appeared as witnesses. The purpose of the hearing was to put the CDE and other elements of the Helsinki process into perspective and provide an assessment of the major issues to be addressed in Vienna.

SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN EMIGRATION POLICIES

Scheduled to coincide with the opening of the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting, the Commission held a hearing on Soviet and East European emigration policies on April 15 which focused attention on the same critical human contacts issues being discussed in Bern. Five witnesses provided expert analysis and personal insight into Jewish, German and Armenian emigration from the Soviet Union; the plight of Americans married to Soviets; and East European emigration trends and policies. Testifying before the

Commission were Senator Paul Simon (D-IL); Mrs. Elena Balovlenkov, representing the Divided Spouses Coalition; Ms. Felice Gaer, International League for Human Rights; Dr. William Korey, Research Director, B'nai B'rith, and public delegate to the Bern Meeting; and Dr. Sidney Heitman, Colorado State University.

NATAN SHCHARANSKY TO MARK THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MOSCOW HELSINKI GROUP

On May 14, 1986, the Commission held a hearing to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Moscow Helsinki Group, a voluntary, unofficial organization founded by Soviet human rights advocates to monitor and improve Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Final Act. Anatoly (Natan) Shcharansky, a founding member of the Group, presented testimony on the work of the group. This hearing was the first time that Shcharansky, who was released by the Soviets in February, publicly described his 9 years in the Soviet gulag. Shcharansky shared his views on a variety of topics of interest to the Commission including Soviet human rights abuses, suppression of the Moscow and other Helsinki Monitoring Groups, Soviet treatment of political and other prisoners, the future of Soviet Jewry and the general credibility of Soviet diplomacy and international commitments.

AMBASSADOR WARREN ZIMMERMANN ON THE CSCE VIENNA REVIEW MEETING

The Commission held a hearing on September 11, 1986, with Ambassador Warren Zimmermann, head of the U.S. delegation, on the U.S. objectives for the upcoming Vienna Review Meeting.

STOCKHOLM MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE ON CONFIDENCE- AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE (CDE)

On October 1, 1986, the Commission heard from Ambassador Robert Barry, head of the U.S. delegation, on the recently-concluded CDE talks. The Stockholm Conference took place from January 17, 1984 to September 19, 1986, ending with a consensus on a package of confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs). According to the CDE mandate, these measures, which included notification, observation and verification of major military maneuvers, were to be militarily significant, politically binding, verifiable and applicable to the whole of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

V. Meetings and Official Activities

On January 14, 1986, the Commission staff met with Valentina Polishchuk to discuss religious persecution of Pentecostals in the Soviet Union. Mrs. Polishchuk was allowed by Soviet authorities to visit her mother in Canada on a 2-month visitors visa to undergo surgery. Her husband and children remained in Nakhodka. They have been trying to emigrate from the Soviet Union since 1977.

Cochairman Hoyer met with Ekkehard Eickhoff, the Federal Republic of Germany's Ambassador-at-Large for CSCE Affairs, at which Ambassador Eickhoff and Hoyer discussed their respective government's approach to the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meet-

ing and the CSCE process as a whole, including the Stockholm Conference and the Vienna CSCE Review Meeting. Later, the Commission hosted a meeting between Ambassasdor Eickhoff and members of the NGO community.

Commissioners Don Ritter (R-PA) and Chris Smith (R-NJ) met with repesentatives of Washington area peace/disarmament organizations on February 20. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the present situation in Afghanistan and how the Soviet presence there reflects on the overall prospects for peace throughout the world.

Mr. Klaus Sahlgren, Executive Secretary of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), met with Commission staff on March 19 during his semiannual visit to Washington. Mr. Sahlgren discussed the ECE's position on improving East-West relations and continued to push for the expansion of the ECE's role in the implementation of the Basket II provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.

On April 2, Cochairman Steny Hoyer spoke at a luncheon sponsored by the National Conference on Soviet Jewry. Congressman Hoyer's remarks centered on the dismal Soviet record on human contacts issues and the plight of Soviet Jewry in light of the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting and the Vienna Follow-up Conference.

Commissioner Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) met with former refusenik Eliahu Essas in his office on April 9. Mr. Essas, a 40-year-old mathematician and self-taught Hebrew teacher, and his family were allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union in November of 1985. Senator DeConcini first met with Mr. Essas in 1978 during a Senate delegation trip to the Soviet Union. The two discussed the growth of the religious community in the Soviet Union.

Commissioner Senator John Heinz (R-PA) met with Gyorgy Krasso, a 56-year-old economist known for his active role in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and a key contributor to Hungarian samizdat publications. At the April 24 meeting, Mr. Krasso expressed his thanks to Senator Heinz for the Senator's intercessions on his behalf and his concern and outspokenness on Hungarian issues. Mr. Krasso received exit permission to leave Hungary in late November 1985 and was in the United States as a participant in USIA's International Visitor Program. He resides in London.

The Commission staff met with Dr. Elena Bonner, a founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Group and wife of Nobel Prize laureate and Soviet dissident Dr. Andrei Sakharov, on April 30. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the utility of the Helsinki process and how to make it more effective. Dr. Bonner was in the United States to receive needed medical treatment. She has since returned to the Soviet Union and both her and Dr. Sakharov have been released from internal exile in the closed city of Gorky and are now living in Moscow.

On May 14, 1986, the Commission co-hosted a reception honoring Anatoly (Natan) Shcharansky after he testified before the Commission earlier in the day.

Isai and Grigory Goldshtein, veteran refuseniks and former members of the Georgian Helsinki Group, met with Commission staff on May 15 to present some new information on refusenik cases. On September 10, Commission staff met with Alexandr Sha-

travka, a well-known dissident and independent peace group member who emigrated to the West in May 1986.

The Commission participated in the 65th birthday "celebration" for Dr. Andrei Sakharov on May 21, 1986. Dr. Elena Bonner, wife of the Soviet scientist and human rights activist, spoke of the difficult situation she found herself in as she prepared to return to the Soviet Union later that week. The birthday celebration was co-hosted by Commissioner Dante Fascell (D-FL), Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Congressman William Broomfield (R-MI), ranking minority member of the Committee.

Members of the North Atlantic Assembly's (NAA) Subcommittee on the Free Flow of Information and People met with Commissioners and staff on September 23. The purpose of the meeting was to exchange views on the Vienna CSCE Review Meeting and to define a parliamentary approach to the CSCE process as a whole. The Subcommittee consists of parliamentarians from Europe and the United States who are principally concerned with monitoring the implementation of the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Final Act by its signatories.

The Commission hosted a luncheon, followed by a press conference, for Yuri Orlov, former leader of the Moscow Helsinki Group, who was recently released by Soviet authorities. This was the first reunion of released Soviet Helsinki Monitors in the West. In addition to Orlov, attendance at the October 15, 1986 event included Nina Strokata, founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, who emigrated to the United States with her husband in 1976; Lyudmila Alexeyeva, founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Group who emigrated to the United States in 1977; and Nadia Svitlichna, an editor and librarian who worked closely with the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in the Soviet Union, who emigrated to the United States in 1978 and now lives with her family in New Jersey.

VI. Reports and Printed Documents

In addition to the formal hearing records which are printed and disseminated by the Commission, the following reports and miscellaneous publications were available from the Commission in 1986:

CSCE Digest—The Digest is a monthly publication of the Commission which offers a sampling of American and European media coverage of Helsinki-related topics as well as information on meetings of the CSCE and Commission activities. It is disseminated to interested Members of Congress, governmental and private organizations, as well as press and general public in the United States and Europe. Printed as a fold-out newsletter, the Digest contains current interest articles as well as updates on previously published information.

Two Semiannual Reports by the President to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe were released in 1986. The 20th semiannual report covered the period October 1, 1985 to April 1, 1986, and the 21st semiannual report covered the period April 1, 1986 to October 1, 1986. Initiated in December 1976, the reports are required by the legislation establishing the Commission and are prepared by the Department of State. The reports chronicle imple-

mentation or violation of Helsinki provisions by CSCE signatory states.

A publication entitled List of Organizations Involved in Exchange Programs with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was prepared by the Commission staff and released to the public in May 1986. This list was compiled in order to help interested persons and organizations participate in exchange programs with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. The publications lists organizations which conduct exchange programs and other contacts in these countries. Not intended to be all-inclusive, the publication is a representative sample of participating organizations.

Volume I (of three) of Documents of the Helsinki Monitoring Group in the U.S.S.R. and Lithuania (1976-86) was printed in 1986. This first volume covers the period 1976-79 and focuses on the documents of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group.

In a continuing series, Implementation of the Final Act of the CSCE: Findings and Recommendations Eleven Years After Helsinki was prepared by the Commission staff in 1986 in three volumes. The report covers the period from November 1982, when the last implementation report was prepared, to December 1986. The first volume covers Basket I and principles. Volume two encompasses Basket II issues and volume three will cover all the Basket III provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. The entire report will be available to the public in early 1987.

A pamphlet highlighting the view of Natan Shcharansky on such topics as the Helsinki process, the human rights situation in the Soviet Union, public vs. quiet diplomacy and Soviet religious repression was printed by the Commission. This pamphlet was based on Mr. Shcharansky's testimony at the Commission's hearing on May 14.

A listing of all Commission publications is attached as Appendix IV.

VII. Monitoring Compliance: Human Rights and Human Contacts Casework

HUMAN RIGHTS CASEWORK

Mandated by its enacting legislation to pay particular heed to the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, the Commission devotes considerable time and attention to researching violations of these provisions by the Warsaw Pact countries. The Commission receives a steady stream of letters and information on human rights problems from individuals, private and governmental organizations in the United States and Europe, as well as from various unofficial citizens' groups and individuals in the Warsaw Pact nations. This material is augmented by State Department cables; Foreign Broadcast Information and Joint Publications Research Service translations of official government statements; East and West European and Soviet media; and relevant reports from Western and emigre press.

This massive documentation on human rights problems in the Warsaw Pact countries is organized into two kinds of files: issue

files, including topical reports on national, religious, cultural, political, civil, ethnic, social and economic problems; and individual case files, including information on 775 individual Soviet prisoners of conscience. These files on human rights problems are updated on a regular basis as new information becomes available from various sources.

These voluminous files on human rights issues and individual prisoners of conscience are used extensively by the Commission staff for researching reports and special projects, preparing background materials for hearings and providing information for numerous speeches by Commissioners. During 1986, the U.S. delegation to the Bern Human Contacts Meeting and the Vienna Follow-up Meeting referred to these files when responding to inquires from the public, Congress, the media and various researchers, and to compile briefing materials for congressional delegations. Specific human rights cases from these files were presented to the Soviet delegation at bilateral discussions held during these meetings.

Special human rights projects in 1986 included updating lists of imprisoned Soviet peace activists, independent labor union advocates, religious believers and members of Soviet Helsinki Groups; nominating for the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize an imprisoned Soviet human rights activist; and providing information and assistance to governmental and private organizations on various Helsinki-related issues. The Commission conducted periodic interviews with former citizens of Warsaw Pact nations who recently relocated to the West to learn the latest human rights developments in these nations. In addition, Commission staff conducted research on such topics as censorship in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe; forced labor; interruption of mail and telephone service between the West and the Soviet Union; Soviet samizdat literature; and Soviet policies toward dissent, nationalities, and culture.

HUMAN CONTACTS CASEWORK

A significant amount of the Commission staff's daily work has focused on individual cases falling under the Final Act's human contacts provisions such as family reunification, binational marriage, family visits and travel barriers between East and West. These cases, which form a substantial part of the Commission's total casework, are handled by a caseworker together with country/area officers with the assistance of interns. The majority of incoming casework correspondence comes from individuals and organizations trying to facilitate the emigration of their family, friends or colleagues from the Soviet Union and Romania, and Members of Congress who forward constituent mail for reply.

The staff maintains files on several thousand human contacts cases and many staff hours are spent on casework correspondence. The Commission staff compiles and regularly updates lists of unresolved human contacts cases and maintains contact with U.S. Embassies in Eastern Europe in order to ascertain the most recent information on them.

Periodically, the Commission presents lists of unresolved human contacts cases to or raises individual human contacts cases with representatives of these governments. In 1986, for the first time in

a number of years, representatives of the Soviet Government at the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting accepted a Commission human contacts caselist during a bilateral meeting with Cochairman Steny Hoyer, Commissioner Dennis DeConcini and other members of the U.S. delegation. On a regular basis, the Commission provides information on individual human contacts cases to congressional delegations visiting the Soviet Union and to delegates at various CSCE meetings. During the April-May Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting, the U.S. delegation presented several caselists largely compiled by Commission staff. These cases included those solicited by the Commission from congressional offices. The Bern Meeting also afforded the opportunity for Cochairman Hoyer to present human contacts cases in bilateral meetings with representatives of the Romanian, Polish and Czechoslovak Governments. The Commission staff also spends time counseling and advising family members, concerned individuals, representatives of private groups and congressional staffs on possible strategies to resolve human contacts cases.

VIII. Economic Cooperation and Interchange of People

The Commission continued to implement its second mandate, to monitor and encourage governmental and private programs aimed at expanding East-West economic cooperation and the interchange of people.

Regarding economic cooperation, the Commission staff has closely monitored East-West trade developments, such as the continuation since last year of high level trade talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. Such developments have often been reported and analyzed in the CSCE Digest. Relevant information on specific aspects of East-West economic relations have also been disseminated by the Commission staff to requesting parties, both governmental and private.

While the Madrid Concluding Document mandated the holding of fora for the discussion of specific topics covered by the Helsinki process, none of them focused on issues relating to Basket II, Cooperation in the Fields of Economics, of Science and Technology, and of the Environment. Instead, the participating States called upon the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), located in Geneva, Switzerland, to implement those Basket II provisions of the Concluding Document of a multilateral nature. The ECE therefore incorporated CSCE-related activity into its program of work. The Commission has been involved in this activity, following and/or attending both the annual plenary sessions of the ECE and the meetings of the ECE's Committee on the Development of Trade.

The 41st Plenary Session of the ECE took place April 15–25, 1986. Its primary purpose was to examine the ECE's program of work for the ensuing year, much of which involves technical and detailed studies and discussions among specialists in various fields, such as transportation, energy, environment and trade. The Commission staff present on the delegation assisted in the drafting of the opening U.S. statement and in preparing and delivering statements on specific areas of the ECE's work, especially in the area of

East-West trade. This involvement was beneficial in stressing a CSCE viewpoint in a U.N. forum.

While the Vienna Follow-up Meeting precluded the Commission staff from attending the 35th Meeting of the Committee on the Development of Trade, which took place from December 1–5, 1986, the Commission assisted the U.S. delegation to the meeting in its work.

The Commission staff was actively involved in Basket II preparations for the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting, which convened on November 4, 1986. This preparation included the drafting of position papers and briefing material, meeting with officials from several U.S. Government agencies and coordinating allied positions on Basket II and the NATO Economic Committee in Brussels. During the first phase of the Vienna Meeting, a member of the Commission staff served as a principal drafter of Basket II speeches and delivered statements in the Basket II working group as well. The Commission staff also assisted in other Basket II duties, including the maintenance of contacts with other delegations and reporting developments back to Washington.

For most of 1986, an experienced Foreign Service Officer on loan from the Department of State continued work at the Commission exploring ways to foster better implementation of those aspects of the Final Act relating to expanding the East-West interchange of people and ideas. In order to help interested persons and organizations participate in exchange programs with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe, the Commission put together a publication listing Government agency and private organization exchange programs and providing details on the purpose and scope of these programs.

Also in the area expanding the interchange of people and ideas, the Commission held a hearing February 6 on U.S. visa policies, focusing on those sections of U.S. visa law which deny entry into the United States on the grounds of political ideology or affiliation. These sections of what is known as the McCarran-Walter Act have prohibited certain controversial foreign visitors from coming to the United States to express their views and have been cited by some as an example of U.S. noncompliance with the Helsinki Final Act. Commission Cochairman Steny Hoyer also focused on this issue in an address before a meeting of consular officials from foreign embassies in Washington at the Shoreham Hotel on April 16 and at a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on International Economic Policy, Oceans and Environment on "Free Trade and Ideas" on August 11.

IX. Coordination and Policy: United States and International

During 1986, the Commission assisted in the development, coordination and implementation of U.S. policy on CSCE issues. The Commission continued to work closely with other U.S. Government agencies including the Bureaus of European and Canadian Affairs and Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs of the Department of State to develop policies relating to CSCE in general. The Commission also participated in consultation with many of the 34 countries participating in the CSCE process. The principal fora for coordinating the positions of the allies on CSCE issues have been

NATO headquarters in Brussels and informal meetings of the allied heads of delegations and their principal aides held in various West European cities. Commission staff participated regularly in these consultative meetings.

The Commission continued to hold bilateral consultations in the United States as well as in Bern during the Human Contacts Experts Meeting and in Vienna during the third Follow-up Meeting. In addition, Commissioners and staff continued regular contacts with embassy officials from several CSCE states including the FRG, France, Turkey, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Austria, Finland, Yugoslavia, Romania and Hungary.

During the annual Most-Favored-Nation review of Hungary's and Romania's emigration performance by the President and Congress under the terms of section 403 of the 1974 Trade Act, the multilateral goals of CSCE dovetail with bilateral interests. The Final Act intrinsically links the development of international trade to the exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms. That same idea is inherent in the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which prohibits the awarding of MFN trading status to Communist nations that deny citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate or impose more than a nominal fee connected with emigration. The MFN review pulls into play the whole panoply of executive branch, congressional and private entities interested in bilateral relations with Hungary and Romania.

The Commission, a focus of executive, legislative and private human rights activity concerning these countries on a year-round basis, traditionally has played a significant role in coordinating the humanitarian aspects of the MFN review through its submission of testimony and by maintaining a constructive and steady dialogue on human rights issues with the Hungarian and Romanian Governments here in the United States as well as at multilateral meetings of the CSCE and, in late 1986, in Hungary itself (previous annual reports have referred to meetings in 1979 and 1980).

During 1986, the Commission developed a close working arrangement with the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA), particularly with the Civilian Affairs Subcommittee on the Free Flow of Information and People. The NAA, which has been in existence since 1951, is the forum for the meeting of parliamentary representatives of the 16 nations of the NATO alliance. It has 5 major committees (military, political, scientific, economic and cultural) and meets as an assembly twice a year. In 1986 Commissioners participated in the May session held in Luxembourg and were joined in Bern at the Human Contacts Experts Meeting by members of the Subcommittee on the Free Flow of Information and People. Additional meetings were held in Washington, DC. and in November at the annual plenary session in Istanbul.

The intent of the Commission's close consultation with the Subcommittee on the Free Flow of Information and People is to encourage more public activism in human rights issues, to stress the importance of parliamentary involvement in the CSCE process and to increase contacts among NATO parliamentarians interested in and concerned with issues related to CSCE.

X. Cooperation With Nongovernmental Organizations and Other Public Contacts

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are an important source of information for the Commission and a major channel through which the Commission publicizes its work. The Commission brings particular CSCE-related concerns of private groups to the attention of government policy makers. In turn, the Commission endeavors to make government policies and activities regarding CSCE more accessible to NGOs.

The Commission maintains close contact with representatives of the various human rights, ethnic and religious groups in the United States and abroad who are actively interested in the CSCE process and its related issues, particularly human rights. Over 2,000 members of the NGO community regularly receive Commission publications. NGO representatives are invited to attend the various Commission sponsored events. Through hearings and other public activities, the Commission tries to provide a forum for NGOs to express their views. Private witnesses are invited to testify and submit statements at public events for which NGOs have often provided the impetus. For example, in February 1986, the Commission held congressional hearings in which representatives of major ethnic NGOs shared their views on the future of the Helsinki process. Also, Commissioners and staff members frequently met, both on a formal and informal basis, with representatives of private organizations, including numerous nationality, human and religious rights organizations.

Traditionally, Commission staff members of U.S. delegations to CSCE meetings serve as the key liaisons to NGOs. This liaison work includes facilitating NGO access to conference sites, arranging appointments with United States and other delegations, briefing NGOs on the negotiations taking place, and attending and supporting NGO efforts relating to the conference. During and after CSCE meetings, the Commission publicizes the proceedings, lectures to NGO groups, holds interviews with the NGO media and distributes staff reports. During 1986, substantial Commission staff time was devoted to NGO liaison efforts at the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting and especially at the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting. Several hundred representatives from over 50 U.S. NGO organizations were actively present at Bern and Vienna in conjunction with these meetings. Prior to the openings of these meetings, Commission staffers frequently talked and met with NGO representatives to discuss the meetings and receive their input.

During 1986, the Commission participated at home and abroad in conferences, seminars, assemblies and meetings hosted by professional associations, private organizations, and academic institutions. Commission staffers, inter alia: briefed the American Bar Association on human rights in the Soviet Union; delivered a 3-day seminar on Soviet human rights at the Slavic Summer School at the University of Illinois; participated in a panel discussion on censorship at the University of Illinois, gave a paper on Soviet Scientists and Human Rights at the annual meeting of the American Statistical Association; participated in seminars on the Future of

the CSCE Process at the Aspen Institute in Wye, Maryland, and Berlin; a Columbia University panel on U.S.-Soviet relations; a panel discussion at George Washington University under the aegis of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies; a Soviet Jewry workshop of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington; a seminar on the CSCE process at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown; an Aspen Institute conference on U.S. Human Rights Policy and the Helsinki Accords; and gave speeches at a Conference on Judaism in Rural New England on CSCE and Soviet Jewry; at a Harvard Hillel Rally for Soviet Jewry; at a National Conference on Soviet Jewry Leadership Conference in Washington; in New York at the Ukrainian Institute of America on the Vienna Review Meeting; and at a Political Awareness Seminar sponsored by the Ukrainian National Information Service in Washington.

Commissioners and Commission staff also participated in CSCE forums held in New York, New Jersey, Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit and Miami before the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting. The forums, sponsored by the State Department, were attended by a wide range of NGOs. The Commission staff also participated in and helped organize several NGO briefings held at the State Department.

In May, Cochairman Steny Hoyer accepted the Joint Baltic American National Committee's (JBANC) "Baltic Freedom Award" on behalf of the Commission staff. JBANC honored the staff of the Commission during the Committee's 25th anniversary reception.

XI. Congressional Relations

Although the Commission is an independent agency with representation from the executive branch departments of Commerce, Defense, and State, 18 of the 21 Commissioners are Members of the House and Senate. Thus the Commission works closely with individual Members, committees, subcommittees, and the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress.

INQUIRIES REGARDING SPECIFIC CASES

During 1986, the Commission experienced a significant increase in congressional inquiries regarding the CSCE process, particularly in the area of human rights and expanded its outreach to Congress. This resulted in the hiring of one staff person to oversee congressional inquiries and relations. This coincided with heightened congressional activities during the Reykjavik summit, the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting and the Vienna Follow-up Meeting.

The Commission staff handled numerous congressional requests for information on the status of individuals whose cases represent violations of the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and/or Madrid Concluding Document. If requested, the Commission suggested appropriate actions that a Member might take, along with material for preparation of speeches and drafted statements for the Congressional Record as well as letters and speeches for the Member's use. If the staff was unable to furnish the necessary in-

formation, it referred the Member's office to the appropriate private organization or Government agency.

The Commission also functioned as a clearinghouse for information about congressional activities on United States-European human rights and other Helsinki related issues. Often, congressional staffers contacted the Commission to inquire what other congressional offices had been active in a particular case and what actions had been taken on behalf of that case. Many offices routinely send the Commission copies of letters they have sent or statements they have made regarding individual cases so that the Commission can keep abreast of these efforts. In turn, the Commission staff has informed congressional offices of developments in particular cases as the information becomes available and has advised Member's offices of the results of their consultations during Helsinki follow-up meetings.

The Commission worked closely with, and provided information to, several congressional human rights groups again in 1986 including the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, the Advisory Council on Religious Rights, the Interparliamentary Group on Human Rights in the Soviet Union, the Friends of Human Rights Monitors, the Congressional Spouses Committee of 21, the Congressional Coalition on Soviet Jewry, and the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltics and Ukraine.

CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATIONS

The Commission also supplied background information and briefing materials to Members of Congress who traveled to the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc nations, or would be meeting these nations' representatives in other venues, in 1986. In several instances, Commission staff conducted briefings for congressional delegations prior to their departure. The Commission also provided briefing materials for Members participating in interparliamentary groups such as the North Atlantic Assembly and the European Parliament.

During 1986, the Commission organized several delegations of Commissioners and other Members of Congress to participate in the Stockholm CDE Conference, the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting, and the Vienna Follow-up Meeting.

In May, Cochairman Hoyer led a congressional delegation including Commissioner John Porter and Representatives Gary Ackerman and Albert Bustamante, to Stockholm to participate in the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE).

While in Stockholm, the delegation was briefed by Ambassador Lynn Hansen, deputy head of the U.S. delegation. The Cochairman delivered a plenary speech stressing the importance of human rights in all types of discussions, including those dealing with security measures. The group also met with U.S. Ambassador Newell to discuss U.S.-Swedish relations. Other meetings included a working lunch at the Swedish Foreign Ministry and a bilateral meeting with the Soviet Ambassador to the CDE, Oleg Grinevsky. Members of the delegation also paid tribute to the late Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme in a wreath-laying ceremony at the Palme grave-

site. Finally, a reception was held for the heads of the 35 participating delegations.

Members of the delegation were also involved in activities at the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting. In addition to participation in the plenary sessions, the Congressmen held bilateral meetings with representatives of the Polish, Romanian, and Czechoslovak delegations.

In November 1986, Cochairman Hoyer participated in the opening sessions of the Vienna Follow-up Meeting. While there, he had the opportunity to address the plenary session in his capacity as Cochairman of the Commission and Vice Chairman of the United States delegation to that Conference.

After his plenary speech, Cochairman Hoyer, joined by Senator Dennis DeConcini, met for more than 2½ hours with Soviet Ambassador to the Vienna Follow-up Meeting, Yuri Kashlev, and other Soviet delegation members. During their discussions, they had the opportunity to hand the Soviets a list of more than 400 Commission cases dealing with family reunification, separated spouses and prisoners of conscience and ask for their resolution.

The congressional delegation to Vienna also hosted a bilateral with members of the Polish delegation to the CSCE meeting, including Ambassador Eugene Kulaga and Jerzy Nowak. Cochairman Hoyer was joined by Commission members, Senators Dennis DeConcini, Claiborne Pell, and Paul Sarbanes.

Other activities in Vienna included a working luncheon for the CSCE Ambassadors from the NATO countries, a reception for members of the nongovernmental organizations attending the Vienna meeting and a press conference, chaired by Hoyer, which commemorated the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian and Lithuanian Helsinki Monitoring Groups.

After visiting the Vienna Follow-up Meeting Cochairman Hoyer visited Budapest for 2 days of meetings with government officials and private citizens. The purpose of the meetings was to discuss the wide range of Helsinki-related issues in bilateral relations between the United States and Hungary, from human rights to trade to security questions.

Cochairman Hoyer met with Foreign Minister Petr Varkonyi, Deputy Premier for Social Affairs Judit Csehak, President of Information Council Rezso Banyasz, President of Parliament Istvan Sarlos and Party Secretary Janos Berecz. He had a further opportunity to speak with Hungarian officials concerned with CSCE matters at a reception hosted by American Ambassador to Hungary Nicholas Salgo. Cochairman Hoyer also met with members of Hungary's Democratic Opposition to discuss current human rights concerns, and visited Budapest's Grand Synagogue and Jewish Museum.

Cochairman Hoyer's trip to Budapest marked the first time that a Commission delegation has been received in a Warsaw Pact country. It allowed the Commission to expand its discussion of CSCE-related concerns—including Hungary's compliance record—from contacts with Hungarian Embassy officials in Washington and delegates at CSCE meetings to top officials in various branches of the Hungarian Government and Party. Additionally, the visit afforded the Commission an opportunity to demonstrate its support of pri-

vate citizens seeking to enjoy the freedoms set out in the Helsinki Final Act.

From Budapest, Cochairman Hoyer proceeded to Istanbul to participate in a meeting of the North Atlantic Assembly to discuss security and human rights objectives. While he was in Istanbul, he met with several private citizens to discuss improvements in and continuing concerns with Turkey's human rights performance, as well as with representatives of the Bulgarian Turks to discuss the current assimilation campaign against ethnic Turks in Bulgaria.

Cochairman Hoyer participated actively in the NAA's Civilian Affairs Subcommittee on the Free Flow of Information. He delivered a speech to the final NAA plenary, introducing a U.S. resolution on East-West relations in the aftermath of the Reykjavik meetings between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev.

Cochairman Hoyer, along with Commissioner Dante Fascell and Representatives Frank Annunzio and Frank Horton, met with Greek Orthodox Patriarch Demetrios I to discuss concerns of the religious minorities in Turkey. He also met with Istanbul's Chief Rabbi David Asseo and other representatives of the Turkish Jewish community and expressed the horror of all Americans at the September attack on the Neve Shalom Synagogue. Hoyer was joined at the Neve Shalom Synagogue by Representatives Howard Berman, Ben Gilman, and Larry Smith.

Representative Dante Fascell, previously the Chair of the Commission for over 9 years, led a large congressional delegation to the Vienna Follow-up Meeting also in November. While there, the Fascell delegation held a bilateral meeting with the Soviet delegation, during which the Soviets announced the resolution of several divided spouses cases, and attended plenary sessions.

In December 1986, Commission Chairman Alfonse D'Amato traveled to Vienna to address the plenary session of the CSCE Follow-up Meeting. D'Amato spoke in his capacity as Chairman of the Commission as well as Vice Chairman of the U.S. delegation. While in Vienna, D'Amato welcomed the arrival of Rimma Bravve, a cancer victim, from the Soviet Union. Chairman D'Amato was instrumental in pressuring the Soviets to release Mrs. Bravve on humanitarian grounds so that she could join her family members and seek medical treatment in the West.

LEGISLATION REGARDING CSCE ISSUES

While the Commission has no legislative authority, the Commission staff serves as a resource for Members of Congress, their staffs and committee staffers, assisting them with legislation dealing with the CSCE process, human rights and related issues.

For example, Cochairman Hoyer along with Representative Jack Kemp, a Commissioner, and Representatives Barney Frank and Ben Gilman introduced legislation (H.J. Res. 596) designating May 21, 1986 as National Andrei Sakharov Day. Identical legislation (S.J. Res. 323) was introduced in the Senate by Chairman D'Amato and Senator Dennis DeConcini. The legislation was passed and became Public Law 99-314 and coincided with the visit of Elena Bonner to the United States.

Chairman D'Amato introduced S. Con. Res. 154 which focused on the Soviet Union's persecution of members of the Ukrainian and other Helsinki Monitoring Groups. Similar House legislation, H. Con. Res. 332, was agreed to by the Senate on October 1, 1986.

Commission members, Representative John Porter and Senator Dennis DeConcini, introduced legislation in both Houses of Congress which designated August 1, 1986 as Helsinki Human Rights Day. This legislation became Public Law 99-374.

Also on August 1, 1986, S. 2496, introduced by Commission members, Senators Malcolm Wallop and Dennis DeConcini, passed the Senate. The legislation would award Congressional Gold Medals to Drs. Andrei Sakharov and Elena Bonner.

Commission member, Representative Tim Wirth, introduced H. Con. Res. 317 which expressed the sense of the Congress that the Soviet Union should immediately provide for the release and safe passage of Naum and Inna Meiman. Inna Meiman is suffering from cancer and is expected to arrive in the United States to seek medical treatment in early 1987.

Finally, the Commission also originated several "dear colleague" appeals on behalf of human rights abuses in the Eastern bloc nations and organized "special orders" in the House to commemorate the release of Natan Shcharansky and to mark the 11th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act among others.

S. RES. 353 REGARDING INVESTIGATION INTO MIROSLAV MEDVID INCIDENT

On March 13, 1986, the U.S. Senate agreed to amendment No. 1670, sponsored by Senator Gordon Humphrey, to S. Res. 353. This amendment provided an appropriation of $200,000 from the Account for Miscellaneous Items of the Senate's contingent fund to pay the expenses of an investigation by the Commission into the Miroslav Medvid incident.

S. Res. 353, as amended, stated that the Commission should "(1) conduct an investigation to determine (A) whether any officer or employee of the United States violated any law of the United States or local law, including any statute, regulation, ordinance or procedure promulgated pursuant to law, in connection with the defection attempt of Miroslav Medvid; (B) the instances in which an individual (other than the individual referred to in clause (A)), who was a national of the Soviet Union or a Soviet-bloc East European country, requested political asylum in the United States and was returned to the authorities of his country in violation of any United States, State or local law, including any statute, regulation, ordinance or procedure promulgated pursuant to law; and (C) whether the treatment accorded to individuals described in clauses (A) and (B) requires changes in the laws of the United States; and (2) submit a report, not later than one year after the date of adoption of this resolution, to the House of Representatives and the Senate to [sic] the findings of such investigation, including any recommendations for changes in the laws of the United States."

On May 14, 1986, Senator Humphrey introduced amendment No. 1958 to S. Res. 374, to which the Senate agreed. This amendment changed the date on which the Commission's report to Congress on

its investigation of the Medvid case is due May 14, 1987, and allowed appropriated funds to remain available until 30 days after the date of submission of the report of investigation.

Subsequent to approval by the Senate Committee on Rules and administration of the Commission's budget for the investigation, the Commission hired two professional investigators, a staff attorney and an administrative assistant to conduct the investigation itself. The Commission directed that the investigation be conducted in a professional, objective and exhaustive manner so that the full mandate of S. Res. 353 could be met.

Through December 31, 1986, the investigators had conducted 136 interviews with persons involved in the Medvid case. They had reviewed records held by House and Senate committees and some Members; the Immigration and Naturalization Service; the Border Patrol; the Coast Guard; the Customs Service; the Federal Bureau of Investigation; the Department of Agriculture; the Navy; the New Orleans City Police, Harbor Police and Port Authority; State Department Watch; the Ukrainian American Congress Committee; and other individuals and organizations.

Forensic examinations of physical evidence have been undertaken and others will be undertaken as the need arises. Consultants will be retained to review legal, medical and psychiatric aspects of the case and provide expert opinion on these matters.

All testimony and evidence is being handled on a confidential basis. As a result, no interim reports on the substance of the investigation have been made public or are planned. As of December 31, 1986, the Commission believes the investigation is proceeding according to plan and will be completed by the May 14, 1987 reporting date. The investigative team has expended, as of December 31, $92,350.00 of the $200,000 appropriated for the investigation. Sufficient funds remain available to meet the team's planned expenditures to complete the investigation.

After the investigative team has completed gathering all relevant information and done a preliminary analysis of it, the Commission will review the results and give whatever direction is necessary to complete the investigation and prepare the final report. Realizing the deep public interest in the subject matter of this investigation and its conclusions, the Commission expects to present the final report in an appropriate manner for detailed public review prior to its submission to Congress. The Commission plans to make public in a timely manner its decisions regarding this review and submission process.

XII. Media Activities

A primary responsibility of the Commission is to promote public understanding of the Helsinki process and, specifically, the core issues of human rights and East-West relations. The Commission relies on various means to accomplish this goal, ranging from Commission publications to media events. The press naturally plays a critical role in Commission efforts to communicate with the public.

The chief Commission publication and conduit to the public is the monthly CSCE Digest. Ranging from 4 to 8 pages, the *Digest* reports on key CSCE developments and concerns, including related

congressional activities and human rights conditions in the signatory states. Among the sources for the Digest are speeches, Commission hearings, reprints of foreign and domestic press reports, Congressional Record statements, and staff analyses of selected issues. With a circulation of nearly 3,000 domestically and overseas, the Digest reaches media representatives and government agencies as well as individuals and organizations interested in the CSCE process. Frequently, a Digest article will be reprinted in the newsletter or newspaper of a group involved in human rights or East-West issues.

The Commission maintains considerable and frequent contact with the media. Efforts are made not only to place articles and plant ideas, but also to make the Commission available as a resource on East-West and human rights concerns.

A major focus of Commission media activity is the mainstream national press, which includes major newspapers, columnists, and radio and television networks. The Commission has cultivated various contacts at both the news and editorial levels. Comments from the Commission have been solicited by such newspapers as the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Washington Times, the Christian Science Monitor, the Baltimore Sun, the New York Daily News and the Wall Street Journal. The Commission has also provided background material to numerous reporters, and has assisted fact-checkers from networks and periodicals. Topics of press interest in 1986 include the Vienna CSCE Review Meeting, Soviet emigration practices, divided family cases, the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting and the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE).

The Commission has also worked closely with local media on topics of interest to that particular community. An example of this is the close cooperation between the Commission and the Rochester press in the case of Soviet cancer patient Rimma Bravve, whose family lives in Rochester. Upon Bravve's release from the Soviet Union in December, Chairman D'Amato held a press conference in Rochester and arranged various other contacts with the local media.

Reaching national opinion makers is another goal of the Commission's press operation. This is done by sending Commission speeches to columnists and editorial boards, and by placing opinion columns on op-ed pages. In the final 2 months of 1986, for example, Cochairman Hoyer published two op-ed columns. The Baltimore Sun published his piece, "Arms Control and Human Rights," on the opening day of the Vienna Meeting. The Washington Jewish Week, a paper with an influential readership in Washington, DC., solicited an article on the human rights dimension of the Helsinki accords after receiving a copy of Cochairman Hoyer's speech at Vienna.

Another major focus of Commission press activity is the ethnic community press. This press often has close ties to nongovernmental organizations that work with the Commission on ethnic, religious or national rights issues. Thus the ethnic community press reaches a population receptive to Commission activities and the whole range of ideas involved in the Helsinki process. Moreover, a good working relationship has developed between various ethnic

community newspapers and the Commission staff. Often the ethnic community press will seek out Commission analysis and insight, report on relevant Commission hearings, statements and speeches, or reprint documents translated by Commission staff.

The media divisions of U.S. Government agencies provide a further channel for Commission media outreach. Specifically, the Commission works closely with the language services of the Voice of America and the Press Service of the United States Information Agency. Attentive to almost every CSCE-related matter, they gave their most extensive coverage in 1986 to the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting, the Stockholm Conference on Disarmament in Europe, and the first stage of the Vienna Review Meeting.

VOA, USIA and RFE/RL cover virtually all Commission activities and often request statements by Commissioners on human rights and other CSCE issues. These organizations are vital to the Commission's work because they serve as a lifeline to Soviet and East European citizens whose access to uncensored information is controlled by their governments. VOA interviewed Cochairman Hoyer twice, the first on July 31 about general CSCE and human rights concerns, and the second on December 18 about the Vienna CSCE meeting. He was also interviewed by RFE/RL for a program commemorating the 10th anniversary of the dissident Czechoslovak human rights group, Charter 77.

The Commission alerts the media to on-going CSCE issues in a number of ways. One is the press conference. On October 15, 1986, for example, the Commission held a press conference marking the first reunion of Soviet Helsinki Monitors since Yuri Orlov's release from the Soviet Union. Also participating were seven CSCE Commissioners. This press conference attracted extensive media coverage, including major newspapers, networks and wire services, as well as the ethnic community press and representatives from VOA, USIA and RFE/RL. Reports appeared in the New York Times and the Washington Times, among others.

Some press conferences were based on breaking events, such as the press conferences Chairman D'Amato held in Kennedy Airport and in Rochester upon Rimma Bravve's arrival in the United States. Still others arose from events on Capitol Hill, such as a press conference attended by various Commissioners on Soviet cancer patients after a Senate hearing on that issue.

Another method of reaching the media is through the press release. Usually these arise when the Commission announces a human rights initiative or issues a statement by one or more of the Commissioners on an event in the news. Press releases are distributed at the House and Senate Press Galleries, by an extensive press mailing list, and through direct contact with reporters interested in the subject.

Topics for 1986 press releases include: condemning the sixth anniversary of Andrei Sakharov's banishment (January 22); the Commission's nomination of Anatoly Koryagin for the Nobel Peace Prize (January 30); harassment of intellectuals and democratic opposition in Hungary (April 9); Anatoly Shcharansky's appearance before the Commission (May 7); human rights conditions in Hungary and Romania (June 10); the sentencing of Georgian human rights monitors (July 1); the arrest of Nicholas Daniloff (September

3); Yuri Orlov's release from the Soviet Union (September 30); human rights at the Reykjavik summit (October 7); the release of poet Irina Ratushinskaya (October 18); Andrei Sahkarov's release from internal exile (December 19).

Commission hearings provide further fora for media coverage. The Commission regularly sends out media advisories alerting the press to upcoming hearings, and each hearing has a contingent of press in attendance. The press has also shown interest in Commission speeches. Both Chairman D'Amato's and Cochairman Hoyer's addresses to the Vienna plenary attracted media interest, as did Cochairman Hoyer's September 3 speech before the Baltimore Council on Foreign Affairs on the upcoming Vienna Meeting.

Another media-related task for the Commission is at CSCE meetings, where staff works closely with the press to provide background and information and to make delegation members available for interviews. At Vienna, for example, Commission staff work resulted in ideas and material appearing in two periodical articles on the first week of the meeting, in the international edition of Time and in U.S. News and World Report. The Commission also worked on press conferences and media outreach with nongovernmental organizations at the Vienna Meeting. Cochairman Steny Hoyer, Commissioners Claiborne Pell and Dennis DeConcini, and Senator Paul Sarbanes, for example, attended a November 10 press conference in Vienna commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Ukrainian and Lithuanian Helsinki Monitoring Groups.

APPENDIX I

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

Hon. Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-NY) Chairman
Hon. Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD) Cochairman

U.S. SENATE COMMISSIONERS

Hon. John Heinz (R-PA)
Hon. James McClure (R-ID)
Hon. Malcolm Wallop (R-WY)
Hon. Gordon Humphrey (R-NH)
Hon. Claiborne Pell (D-RI)
Hon. Patrick Leahy (D-VT)
Hon. Russell Long (D-LA)*
Hon. Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ)

* In November 1986, Senator Long resigned his position on the Commission. Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ) was appointed by the President of the Senate for the remainder of the 99th Congress.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMISSIONERS

Hon. Dante Fascell (D-FL)
Hon. Sidney Yates (D-IL)
Hon. Timothy Wirth (D-CO)
Hon. Edward Markey (D-MA)
Hon. Don Ritter (R-PA)
Hon. Christopher Smith (R-NJ)
Hon. Jack Kemp (R-NY)
Hon. John Porter (R-IL)

EXECUTIVE BRANCH COMMISSIONERS

Hon. Richard N. Perle, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, Department of Defense.

Vacant, Department of Commerce.

Hon. Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Department of State.

NOTE.—The Honorable Richard Schifter was appointed as an Executive Branch Commissioner-Observer by the President of the United States on June 10, 1986, replacing Elliott Abrams.

APPENDIX II

LEGISLATION RELATING TO THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

Date	P.L./S. Res.	Title
June 3, 1976.....	94-304	To establish the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
October 17, 1976.	94-534	Allowed that the Commission be deemed a Standing Committee of the Congress for use of funds under Section 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954 relating to International Travel.
October 7, 1978...	95-426	Amended the Commission's authorization from $350,000 to $550,000 each fiscal year.
August 15, 1979..	96-60	Add new subsection allowing that not more than $6,000 in appropriated funds could be used for official reception and representational purposes.
March 27, 1985...	99-7	To provide, among other things, for rotation of Commission chairmanship; to create official position of Co-chairman; to increase the number of Commissioners appointed; to allow that Commission employees be considered as congressional employees for purposes of pay and other employment benefits, rights and privileges (retroactive to June 3, 1976); and to remove limitation of $550,000 for Commission appropriation.
August 15, 1985..	99-88	Supplemental increase in FY 1986 Appropriation of $75,000.
December 19, 1985.	99-190	Amendment No. 113, allowing that printing and binding costs of the Commission be charged to the congressional printing and binding appropriation.
March 13, 1986...	353	Section 23, primarily to conduct an investigation into the defection attempt of Miroslav Medvid.
May 14, 1986.....	374	Amendment No. 1958, extending the date for the Commission's final report under S. Res. 353 from March 13 to May 14, 1987.

Public Law 94-304
94th Congress, S. 2679
June 3, 1976

An Act

To establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is established the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Commission").

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Establishment. 22 USC 3001. Functions. 22 USC 3002.

SEC. 2. The Commission is authorized and directed to monitor the acts of the signatories which reflect compliance with or violation of the articles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, with particular regard to the provisions relating to Cooperation in Humanitarian Fields. The Commission is further authorized and directed to monitor and encourage the development of programs and activities of the United States Government and private organizations with a view toward taking advantage of the provisions of the Final Act to expand East-West economic cooperation and a greater interchange of people and ideas between East and West.

Membership. 22 USC 3003.

SEC. 3. The Commission shall be composed of fifteen members as follows:

(1) Six Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Four members shall be selected from the majority party and two shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the House, from the minority party. The Speaker shall designate one of the House Members as chairman.

(2) Six Members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate. Four members shall be selected from the majority party and two shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the Senate, from the minority party.

(3) One member of the Department of State appointed by the President of the United States.

(4) One member of the Defense Department appointed by the President of the United States.

(5) One member of the Commerce Department appointed by the President of the United States.

Powers. 22 USC 3004.

SEC. 4. In carrying out this Act, the Commission may require, by subpena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued over the signature of the Chairman of the Commission or any member designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by the Chairman or such member. The Chairman of the Commission, or any member designated by him, may administer oaths to any witness.

Presidential report to Commission. 22 USC 3005.

SEC. 5. In order to assist the Commission in carrying out its duties, the President shall submit to the Commission a semiannual report, the first one to be submitted six months after the date of enactment of this Act, which shall include (1) a detailed survey of actions by the signatories of the Final Act reflecting compliance with or violation of the provisions of the Final Act, and (2) a listing and description of

present or planned programs and activities of the appropriate agencies of the executive branch and private organizations aimed at taking advantage of the provisions of the Final Act to expand East-West economic cooperation and to promote a greater interchange of people and ideas between East and West.

Report to Congress. 22 USC 3006.

SEC. 6. The Commission is authorized and directed to report to the House of Representatives and the Senate with respect to the matters covered by this Act on a periodic basis and to provide information to Members of the House and Senate as requested. For each fiscal year for which an appropriation is made the Commission shall submit to Congress a report on its expenditures under such appropriation.

Appropriation. 22 USC 3007.

SEC. 7. There is authorized to be appropriated to the Commission for each fiscal year and to remain available until expended $350,000 to assist in meeting the expenses of the Commission for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act, such appropriation to be disbursed on voucher to be approved by the Chairman of the Commission.

22 USC 3008.

SEC. 8. The Commission may appoint and fix the pay of such staff personnel as it deems desirable, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and general schedule pay rates.

5 USC 5101, 5331.

Approved June 3, 1976.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 94-1149 (Comm. on International Relations).
SENATE REPORT No. 94-756 (Comm. on Foreign Relations).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 122 (1976):
May 5, considered and passed Senate.
May 17, considered and passed House, amended.
May 21, Senate concurred in House amendment.

GPO 87-139

Public Law 94–534
94th Congress

An Act

To amend the Act of June 3, 1976, relating to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Oct. 17, 1976
[H.R. 15813]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 7 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (Public Law 94–304), is amended—

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
Ante, p. 662.
22 USC 3007.

(1) by inserting "(a)" immediately after "SEC. 7."; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b) For purposes of section 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, the Commission shall be deemed to be a standing committee of the Congress and shall be entitled to use funds in accordance with such sections.".

22 USC 1754.

Approved October 17, 1976.

92 STAT. 992 PUBLIC LAW 95–426—OCT. 7, 1978

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

SEC. 702. (a) Section 7(a) of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3007(a)), is amended by striking out "$350,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$550,000".

PUBLIC LAW 96-60—AUG. 15, 1979 93 STAT. 403

TITLE IV—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

SEC. 401. Section 7 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3007), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c) Not to exceed $6,000 of the funds appropriated to the Commission for each fiscal year may be used for official reception and representational expenses.".

Public Law 99-7
99th Congress

An Act

Mar. 27, 1985
[S. 592]

To provide that the chairmanship of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe shall rotate between members appointed from the House of Representatives and members appointed from the Senate, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

MEMBERSHIP OF COMMISSION AND APPOINTMENT OF CHAIRMAN AND COCHAIRMAN

SECTION 1. (a) Section 3 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3003), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. (a) The Commission shall be composed of twenty-one members as follows:

"(1) Nine Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Five Members shall be selected from the majority party and four Members shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the House, from the minority party.

"(2) Nine Members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate. Five Members shall be selected from the majority party of the Senate, after consultation with the majority leader, and four Members shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the Senate, from the minority party.

"(3) One member of the Department of State appointed by the President of the United States.

"(4) One member of the Department of Defense appointed by the President of the United States.

"(5) One member of the Department of Commerce appointed by the President of the United States.

"(b) There shall be a Chairman and a Cochairman of the Commission.".

(b) Section 3 of such Act, as amended by subsection (a) of this section, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(c) At the beginning of each odd-numbered Congress, the President of the Senate, on the recommendation of the majority leader, shall designate one of the Senate Members as Chairman of the Commission. At the beginning of each even-numbered Congress, the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall designate one of the House Members as Chairman of the Commission.

"(d) At the beginning of each odd-numbered Congress, the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall designate one of the House Members as Cochairman of the Commission. At the beginning of each even-numbered Congress, the President of the Senate, on the recommendation of the majority leader, shall designate one of the Senate Members as Cochairman of the Commission.".

(c) On the effective date of this subsection, the President of the Senate, on the recommendation of the majority leader, shall designate one of the Senate Members to serve as Chairman of the Commission for the duration of the Ninety-ninth Congress, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall designate one of the House Members to serve as Cochairman of the Commission for the duration of the Ninety-ninth Congress. 22 USC 3003 note.

FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 2. Section 2 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3002), is amended by inserting "human rights and" after "relating to" in the first sentence.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE COMMISSION

SEC. 3. Section 7(a) of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3007(a)), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 7. (a)(1) There are authorized to be appropriated to the Commission for each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its duties and functions. Appropriations to the Commission are authorized to remain available until expended.

"(2) Appropriations to the Commission shall be disbursed on vouchers approved—

"(A) jointly by the Chairman and the Cochairman, or

"(B) by a majority of the members of the personnel and administration committee established pursuant to section 8(a).".

FOREIGN TRAVEL FOR OFFICIAL PURPOSES

SEC. 4. Section 7 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3007), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) Foreign travel for official purposes by Commission members and staff may be authorized by either the Chairman or the Cochairman.".

STAFF OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 5. Section 8 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3008), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 8. (a) The Commission shall have a personnel and administration committee composed of the Chairman, the Cochairman, the senior Commission member from the minority party in the House of Representatives, and the senior Commission member from the minority party in the Senate.

"(b) All decisions pertaining to the hiring, firing, and fixing of pay of Commission staff personnel shall be by a majority vote of the personnel and administration committee, except that—

"(1) the Chairman shall be entitled to appoint and fix the pay of the staff director, and the Cochairman shall be entitled to appoint and fix the pay of his senior staff person; and

"(2) the Chairman and Cochairman each shall have the authority to appoint, with the approval of the personnel and

administration committee, at least four professional staff members who shall be responsible to the Chairman or the Cochairman (as the case may be) who appointed them.

The personnel and administration committee may appoint and fix the pay of such other staff personnel as it deems desirable.

"(c) All staff appointments shall be made without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and general schedule pay rates.

5 USC 5101 *et seq.*, 5331.

"(d)(1) For purposes of pay and other employment benefits, rights, and privileges and for all other purposes, any employee of the Commission shall be considered to be a congressional employee as defined in section 2107 of title 5, United States Code.

"(2) For purposes of section 3304(c)(1) of title 5, United States Code, staff personnel of the Commission shall be considered as if they are in positions in which they are paid by the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Effective date.

"(3) The provisions of paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection shall be effective as of June 3, 1976.".

EFFECTIVE DATE

22 USC 3002 note.

SEC. 6. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), this Act and the amendments made by this Act shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act or April 15, 1985, whichever is later.

(b)(1) The amendment made by subsection (b) of the first section shall take effect on the first day of the One Hundredth Congress.

(2) Subsection (d) of section 8 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (as added by section 5 of this Act), shall be effective as of June 3, 1976.

Approved March 27, 1985.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—S. 592:

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 131 (1985):
Mar. 6, considered and passed Senate.
Mar. 19, considered and passed House.

○

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", $75,000, to remain available until expended.

December 19, 1985

H.J. Res. 465

Amendment No. 113: Conforms section number and amends the authorization for the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe to allow printing and binding costs of the Commission to be charged to the Congressional printing and binding appropriation, as proposed by the Senate.

INVESTIGATION BY THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

SEC. 23. (a) It is the sense of the Senate that the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (hereafter in this section known as the "Commission") should—

(1) conduct an investigation to determine—

(A) whether any officer or employee of the United States violated any law of the United States or any State or local law, including any statute, regulation, ordinance, or procedure promulgated pursuant to law, in connection with the defection attempt of Miroslav Medvid;

(B) the instances in which an individual (other than the individual referred to in clause (A)), who was a national of the Soviet Union or a Soviet-bloc Eastern European country, requested political asylum in the United States and was returned to the authorities of his country in violation of any United States, State, or local law, including any statute, regulation, ordinance, or procedure promulgated pursuant to law; and

(C) whether the treatment accorded to individuals described in clauses (A) and (B) requires changes in the laws of the United States; and

(2) submit a report, not later than one year after the date of adoption of this resolution, to the House of Representatives and the Senate on the findings of such investigation, including any recommendations for changes in the laws of the United States.

(b) Salaries and expenses in connection with the implementation of this section shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate out of the Account for Miscellaneous Items, subject to the following terms and conditions:

(1) The aggregate amount of salaries and expenses payable under this section shall not exceed $200,000.

(2) Such salaries shall be payable only for not more than five individuals at any time—

(A) who shall be employees of the Senate and shall be under the policy direction of the Chairman and Cochairman of the Commission; and

(B) who shall be appointed to perform services in the conduct of activities under this section, on or after the date of adoption of this resolution, and who shall have their compensation fixed at an annual rate, by the Secretary of the Senate, upon the joint recommendation of the Chairman and Cochairman of the Commission.

(3) Payment of expenses shall be disbursed upon vouchers approved jointly by the Chairman and Co-chairman of the Commission, and no voucher shall be required for the disbursement of a salary of an individual appointed under paragraph (2).

(4) For purposes of determining whether and to what extent any travel or other official expense incurred by the Commission in carrying out any activity under this section is payable from the contingent fund of the Senate, such expense shall be treated as if it has been incurred by a standing committee of the Senate and as if the Commission and its staff were members and staff, respectively, of such a committee.

(5) Any expense under this section may be payable only if—

(A) the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate approves;

(B) such expense is of the type for which payment may be made if incurred by a standing committee of the Senate;

(C) such expense is not attributable to the detailing of employees; and

(D) the payment of such expense is otherwise in accordance with all laws, rules, and regulations governing expenses of standing committees of the Senate.

(6) Not more than $20,000 of the funds made available by this subsection shall be available for the procurement by the Secretary of the Senate, upon the joint recommendation of the Chairman and Cochairman of the Commission, of services, on a temporary basis, of individual consultants, or organizations thereof, with the prior consent of the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate. Such services may be procured by contract with the providers acting as independent contractors or, in the case of individuals, by employment at daily rates of compensation not in excess of the per diem equivalent of the highest gross rate of annual compensation which may be paid to employees of a standing committee of the Senate. Any such contract shall not be subject to the provisions of section 5 of title 41, United States Code, or any other provision of law requiring advertising.

(c) None of the funds may be obligated from the contingent fund of the Senate to carry out any provision of this section on or after a date 30 days after—

(1) the date on which the report described in subsection (a)(2) is submitted, or

(2) a date one year after the date of adoption of this resolution,

whichever comes first.

(d) For purposes of this section, the term "Soviet-bloc Eastern European country" includes Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

APPENDIX III

COMMISSION STAFF RESPONSIBILITIES

Meredith Brown joined the Commission staff in October 1986 and assists with emigration casework, maintenance of the Commission's voluminous library and monitoring the human rights situation in Romania and the Soviet Union.

Catherine Cosman, Staff Assistant, has overall responsibility for human rights, including national, religious, political, economic and ethnic dissent in the U.S.S.R. She was responsible for the compilation and editing of human rights documents from citizens' groups in the U.S.S.R. and the Baltic states, the first volume of which was published in mid-1986. In terms of U.S. compliance, she follows religious rights and prisoners' issues. Ms. Cosman is fluent in Russian and has a good working knowledge of German.

Lynne Davidson, Staff Assistant, serves as the principal Commission liaison to nongovernmental organizations. In addition, Ms. Davidson assists the Deputy Staff Director in preparation for all CSCE negotiations. She has country responsibility for Eastern Europe in general and Poland in particular. Special project assignments include following issues relating to Soviet Jewry. Beginning November 1986, she serves as human rights advisor and Deputy Basket III (humanitarian issues) Chief at the Vienna Review Meeting of the CSCE. Ms. Davidson is fluent in Russian and has a good working knowledge of Spanish.

Orest Deychakiwsky, Staff Assistant, is responsible for all emigration casework from signatory countries. Casework includes responding to inquiries from individuals, organizations and Members of Congress on the status of individual cases. Fluent in Ukrainian and with a working knowledge of Russian, he has country responsibility for Bulgaria. He also directs the Commission's intern program. Mr. Deychakiwsky served on the U.S. delegation to both the Bern and Vienna Meetings where he was NGO liaison and human rights advisor.

John Finerty, Staff Assistant, has primary responsibility for all Russian translations and assists in the preparation of U.S.S.R. human rights documents and reports. Fluent in Russian, he maintains all Commission files on Soviet political prisoners and issues and follows up with related correspondence and casework. In addition, he follows the issue of nondelivery of mail and telephone communication in the U.S.S.R. Mr. Finerty also served on the U.S. delegations to the Stockholm Meeting, the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting and the Vienna CSCE Review Conference.

Mary Sue Hafner was appointed to the position of General Counsel in April 1985. In addition to assisting the Staff Director with staff guidance in carrying out projects and activities, Ms. Hafner served as primary liaison with the Cochairman.

Robert Hand is a Staff Assistant with responsibility for monitoring compliance with the Basket II provisions of the Final Act deal-

ing with economic, scientific and environmental cooperation. His work includes involvement in the activities of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe and other fora relating to East-West trade. Mr. Hand has country responsibility for Hungary and Yugoslavia. Earlier in the year, he also followed developments in Turkey and served as the Commission's hearing coordinator. Mr. Hand served on the U.S. delegations to the plenary session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting and the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting. He possesses a good working knowledge of the Russian language.

Michael R. Hathaway, Staff Director, has overall responsibility for staff direction and is primary liaison with Chairman and the central contact for Commissioners and high-level personnel at the Department of State and other government agencies.

Judith Ingram joined the staff in April 1986. Her Staff Assistant duties include following human rights developments in Romania with country responsibility for Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Turkey. Her linguistical abilities include Russian, Hungarian and French as well as a basic working knowledge of German.

Jesse Jacobs joined the Commission in September 1986. His area of expertise is congressional relations having previously worked for Congressman Steny Hoyer. He also assists with the Commission's public liaison operation with nongovernmental organizations. In the latter part of 1986, Mr. Jacobs was a part of the U.S. delegation to the Vienna CSCE Review Meeting.

James McDonald joined the Commission as an intern in July of 1984 after the completion of undergraduate work at the University of Virginia. He became a permanent staff member in February 1985. Mr. McDonald resigned his position at the Commission in April 1986 to pursue graduate studies at the University of Florida. His responsibilities included assisting with emigration casework, maintenance of the Commission's voluminous library and monitoring human rights in Romania.

Staff Assistant Ron McNamara joined the Commission staff in April 1986. He follows the military security issues covered under Basket I of the Helsinki Final Act and served on the U.S. delegation to the Stockholm CDE Meeting. Mr. McNamara was also a member of the U.S. delegations to the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting and the Vienna CSCE Review Conference.

In addition to his position as Chief Counsel on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, R. Spencer Oliver also serves as a Senior Staff Consultant to the Commission. His duties include briefing Foreign Affairs Chairman Fascell on CSCE issues.

Floyd Riggs, a Foreign Service Officer on loan from the Department of State, joined the staff in September 1985 and was reassigned to the Department in November 1986. His responsibilities included the Basket III section of the Final Act dealing with cultural exchanges. During his year at the Commission, Mr. Riggs researched and prepared the Commission's publication List of Organizations Involved in Exchanges with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe which was printed in June 1986.

E. David Seal joined the staff in July 1985 as press and information officer on loan from the United States Information Agency. He returned to USIA for reassignment in February 1986. While at the Commission his duties included editing press releases, liaison with

the Washington press and preparations for Commission press conferences and briefings.

Leonard Steinhorn joined the staff in October 1986 as the Press and Information Officer. He came to the Commission from the House Judiciary Committee where he served as a speechwriter. Mr. Steinhorn's chief responsibilities include speechwriting, report editing, preparation of the CSCE Digest and control of the Commission's press operation. He also attended the Vienna Meeting and assisted with the delegation's press operation during the visit of the foreign ministers from all the signatory states, particularly the visit of Secretary of State George Shultz.

The Commission utilizes the services of a printing clerk on loan from the U.S. Government Printing Office. Thomas Warner has been with the Commission since February 1986 and assists with preparing and printing the Commission's hearings and official reports. Before coming to the Commission, Mr. Warner served as the chief House Printing Clerk for 13 years and has over 35 years experience.

Samuel Wise, Deputy Staff Director, has been with the Commission since October of 1977. A retired Foreign Service Officer, Mr. Wise assists in staff direction and his responsibilities include coordination with private groups and government agencies on CSCE activities in general. Experienced in CSCE negotiations, Mr. Wise has participated in nearly every CSCE meeting since the 1977-78 Belgrade Review Conference. In recognition of the Commission's role in the CSCE process and his long experience and accumulated expertise, he was named Deputy Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Vienna Review Conference which began on November 4 and is likely to continue through 1987. He is fluent in Italian and has a good working knowledge of Russian and German.

The administrative staff included Deborah Burns, the Commission's Office Manager and Budget Officer, and Barbara Edwards, Administrative Assistant.

The Commission was assisted by a total of eight students who participated in the American University Semester Program during the spring and fall of 1986. These students worked part time and earned academic credit for their work. The Commission also utilized the services of six interns during the summer—Jan Surotchak, Regina Devlin, Jennifer Collins, Beverly Purple, Athena Malloy and John Miller. These students assisted with casework and other special projects as necessary. Kerry Schloeder is a volunteer intern at the Commission. She started in November 1986 and will be with the Commission until May 1987. She is fluent in Serbo-Croatian.

APPENDIX IV

HEARINGS

Basket II Hearings

East-West Economic Cooperation (1/13-14/77).

Review of Implementation of Basket II of the Helsinki Final Act (3/6/80).

Basket III Hearings

Volume I—Human Rights (2/23-24/77).

Volume II—Religious Liberty and Minority Rights in the Soviet Union (4/27-28/77).

Helsinki Compliance in Eastern Europe (5/9/77).

Volume III—Information Flow, and Cultural and Educational Exchanges (5/19, 24-25/77).

Volume IV—Soviet Helsinki Watch, Reports on Repression (out of print) (6/3/77).

U.S. Policy and the Belgrade Conference (6/6/77).

Volume V—The Right to Citizenship in the Soviet Union (5/4/78).

Volume VI—Soviet Law and the Helsinki Monitors (6/6/78).

Volume VII—Repercussions of the Trials of the Helsinki Monitors in the U.S.S.R. (7/11/78).

Volume VIII—U.S. Compliance: Human Rights (4/3-4/79).

Volume IX—U.S. Visa Policies (4/5/79).

Volume X—Aleksandr Ginzburg on the Human Rights Situation in the U.S.S.R. (5/11/79).

Volume XI—Pastor Georgi Vins on the Persecution of Reformed Baptists in the U.S.S.R. (6/7/79).

On Human Rights Violations in Ukraine (7/19/79).

Volume XII—Review of East European Compliance with the Human Rights Provisions of the Helsinki Final Act (3/25/80).

Volume XIII—Soviet Treatment of Ethnic Groups (4/29/80).

Volume XIV—Religious Rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (5/21/80).

Volume XV—Religious and National Dissent in Lithuania (8/5/81).

Implementation of the Helsinki Accords

The Helsinki Forum and East-West Scientific Exchange (1/31/80).—Joint hearing of the Committee on Science and Technology, Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Soviet Violation of Helsinki Final Act: Invasion of Afghanistan (7/22/81)—Joint hearing of the Subcommittee on Human Rights

and International Organizations of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Fifth Anniversary of the Formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group (11/16/81).

The Crisis in Poland and its Effects on Helsinki Process (12/28/81).

Phase IV of the Madrid CSCE Review Meeting (3/23/82).

Soviet Involvement in the Polish Economy (4/1/82).

The Assassination Attempt on Pope John Paul II (9/23/82).

The Plight of Soviet Jewry (6/23/83)—Joint hearing of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Psychiatric Abuse in the Soviet Union (9/20/83)—Joint hearing of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Forced Labor in the U.S.S.R. (11/7/83)—Joint hearing of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The Situation of Andrei Sakharov and Unofficial Peace Groups in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe (5/22/84).

The Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting and the Future of the CSCE Process (6/25/85).

Human Rights Abuses in Cyprus (7/20/85) (New York, NY).

Soviet Forced Labor Practices (8/15/85) (Buffalo, NY).

Human Rights and the CSCE Process (10/3/85).

Soviet Violations of the Helsinki Accords in Afghanistan (12/4/85).

Restrictions on Artistic Freedom in the Soviet Union and the Budapest Cultural Forum (10/29–12/11/85).

1952 McCarran-Walter Act (2/6/86).

Human Rights and the CSCE Process in Eastern Europe and Human Rights and the CSCE Process in the Soviet Union (2/25–27/86).

The Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and the Future of the CSCE Process (3/25/86).

Soviet and East European Emigration Policies (4/22/86).

Natan Shcharansky to Mark the 10th Anniversary of the Moscow Helsinki Group (5/14/86).

Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting (3/18–6/18/86).

Stockholm Meeting of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (10/1/86).

SEMIANNUAL REPORTS

Every 6 months since the creation of the Commission, the President, coordinating with the State Department, publishes a report on the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act which is sent to the Commission. As of October 30, 1986, there have been 21 semiannual reports published and disseminated.

CSCE COMMISSION REPORTS

Reports of the Helsinki Accord Monitors in the Soviet Union:

Documents of the Public Groups to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Agreements in the U.S.S.R.

Volume I dated February 24, 1977 (out of print).

Volume II dated June 3, 1977 (out of print).

Volume III dated November 7, 1978.

Implementation of the Final Act of the CSCE: Findings and Recommendations—

Two Years after Helsinki (out of print) (9/23/77).

Five Years after Helsinki (out of print) (8/1/80).

Seven Years after Helsinki (out of print) (11/82).

Eleven Years after Helsinki (3 volumes) (12/86).

The Right to Know, the Right to Act—Documenting Helsinki Group dissent from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (5/78).

On Leaving the Soviet Union: Two Surveys Compared—A statistical analysis of the patterns and procedures in Soviet emigration (5/1/78).

On the Right to Emigrate for Religious Reasons: The Case of 10,000 Soviet Evangelical Christians—Documents the plight of Soviet Evangelical Protestants and their decision to emigrate (5/79).

Fulfilling Our Promises: The United States and the Helsinki Final Act—Examines the United States' compliance with all areas of the Final Act (11/79).

Profiles: The Helsinki Monitors (out of print)—Listing of biographical information on the arrested members of the various Helsinki groups (12/79).

Activities Report:

95th Congress (out of print).

96th Congress.

97th Congress.

98th Congress.

A Thematic Survey of the Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group—Summary of the documents released by the Moscow Helsinki Group on their fifth anniversary (5/12/81).

The Madrid CSCE Review Meeting:

An Interim Report—A summary of the first phase of the Madrid Follow-up Meeting covering negotiations from November 11 through December 19, 1980.

Phase II Interim Report—A summary of the second phase of the Madrid Follow-up Meeting which began January 27 and ended July 28, 1981.

Phase III Interim Report—A summary of the third phase of the Madrid Follow-up Meeting covering the period from October 27 through December 18, 1981.

Phase IV Interim Report—A summary of the fourth phase of the Madrid Follow-up Meeting covering the period from February 9 through March 12, 1982.

Phase V Interim Report—A summary of the fourth phase of the Madrid Follow-up Meeting covering the period from November 9 through December 18, 1982.

The final report issued by the Commission on the Madrid Meeting (11/83).

Basket II Compliance: East European Economic Statistical Quality—Prepared by the Congressional Research Service for the use of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (5/82).

Human Rights in Czechoslovakia: The Documents of Charter '77, 1977-82—A compilation of nearly all the Charter documents translated into English (7/82).

The Human Rights Situation in Turkey—Report based on research by a staff study mission to Turkey (10/82).

Documents of the Soviet Groups to Establish Trust Between the U.S. and U.S.S.R.—5/22/84.

The Helsinki Process and East West Relations: Progress in Perspective—A report on the positive aspects of the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act from 1975 through 1984 (3/85).

The Helsinki Process: Ten Years Later—A section-by-section review of the Helsinki Final Act highlighting some of the developments within the Helsinki framework over the past 10 years. Prepared in advance of the ceremonies commemorating the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act.

List of Organizations Involved in Exchange Programs with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (1986).

Documents of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups in the U.S.S.R. and Lithuania (1986)—Volume I covering the period 1976-79.

Shcharansky on Human Rights and the Soviet Union (1986)—Pamphlet based on hearing held with Natan Shcharansky on May 14, 1986.

ARTICLES AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Did Human Rights Survive Belgrade?—Article written by Congressman Dante B. Fascell which appeared in Foreign Policy, Issue No. 31, summer 1978.

The CSCE Follow-up Mechanism: From Belgrade to Madrid—Article written by Congressman Dante B. Fascell which appeared in the Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law, Volume 13, Nos. 2-3, spring-summer 1980.

Negotiating with the Soviets in Madrid—Report prepared by World Affairs which is a compilation of the major speeches given in Madrid beginning with the preparatory meeting in September 1980 through the end of phase IV, March 12, 1982.

The Madrid CSCE Meeting—Article written by Congressman Dante B. Fascell for the Washington Quarterly, autumn 1982.

Helsinki, Gdansk, Madrid—Article written by Congressman Dante B. Fascell for the Washington Quarterly, fall 1984.

Forced Labor in the U.S.S.R.—19-page article published in Russia, Issue No. 10, fall 1984. Examines aspects of Soviet forced labor including international legal and CSCE dimensions, current status, forced labor and the Soviet economy, prisoner working conditions, recent trends and future prospects.

Helsinki Commission: The First 8 Years—Report prepared by the General Accounting Office evaluating the work of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, dated March 1, 1985.

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